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told with unwarranted certainty (despite the mention of an
opposing view) and assumed to be true in later statements.
Our proposed edits 1, 2, 3, and 5, all of which are challenges to
this migration scenario in one way or another.

With respect,

**Re: Questioning the Aryan Migration
Theory**



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Enclosed are several pages of
quotations from academic experts
challenging the plausibility of the
Aryan Migration Theory.

We hope it impresses upon the
Commission just how many experts
have seriously questioned the general
story presently being told in the
Narrative in lines 821 to 832.



Acharya Arumuganathaswami
Managing Editor
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As is, the migration hypothesis is

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A few quotations by mainstream Western experts on the Aryan Migration Theory

- **Colin Renfrew**, the well-known British archaeologist, rejected in 1990 the idea of an Aryan invasion on the evidence of the Rig-Veda (and argued for the arrival of Indo-European speakers in the subcontinent around 7000 BCE):

As far as I can see, there is nothing in the *Hymns of the Rigveda* which demonstrates that the Vedic-speaking populations were intrusive to the area.... Nothing implies that the Aryas were strangers there. ... It is difficult to see what is particularly non-Aryan about the Indus Valley civilization. ... Certainly the assumption that the Aryas were recent 'immigrants' to India, and their enemies were 'aborigines', has done much to distort our understanding of the archaeology of India and Pakistan.ⁱ

- French archaeologist **Henri-Paul Francfort**, an expert on Central Asian archaeology, stressed in 2005 the absence of archaeological evidence for movements of Indo-Aryans through Margiana and Bactria (the BMAC or Oxus civilization):

Recent hypotheses connecting the Oxus civilization with the Indo-Iranians or the Indo-Aryans are of two kinds: the first consider the Oxus civilization as an emanation of the Indo-Iranians / Indo-Aryans (Sarianidi, Hiebert); the second hold that newcomers from the steppes succeeded the Oxus civilization (Kuzmina) or took possession of it (Parpola, Mallory). This wide uncertainty, which may appear surprising, is due to the fact that no trace of invasion is noticed on the ground, no cultural transformation is marked by the presence of archaeological material whose origin could be attributed to peripheral regions. Expressions like "*elite dominance*" or "*infiltration*," despite their great evocative power, are nothing but rhetorical devices. They do not manage to mask our present inability to account for a supposed historical phenomenon. [...] In neither of the two regions, steppes and oases, do we find an archaeological material that could be indisputably attributed to Indo-Iranians, Indo-Aryans, or Iranians.ⁱⁱ

The verdict of bioanthropology

The late U.S. bioanthropologist **K.A.R. Kennedy** rejected in 1995 not only the concept of an ethnically definable Aryan entity, but also stressed the evidence of biological and phenotypical continuity between Harappans and Indians of the early historical era, rejecting the possibility of the arrival of a substantial number of "Aryans" in between the two:

How could one recognize an Aryan, living or dead, when the biological criteria for Aryanness are non-existent?ⁱⁱⁱ

Biological anthropologists remain unable to lend support to any of the theories concerning an Aryan biological or demographic entity.... What the biological data demonstrate is that *no exotic races are apparent* from laboratory studies of human remains excavated from any archaeological sites.... All prehistoric human remains recovered thus far from the Indian subcontinent are phenotypically *identifiable as ancient South Asians*.... In short, *there is no evidence of demographic disruptions* in the north-western sector of the subcontinent during and immediately after the decline of the Harappan culture.^{iv}

Kennedy also refers in 1999 to a "biological continuum [... with] the modern populations of Punjab and Sind,"^v agreeing in this with earlier skeletal studies by several Indian experts, who had found little difference between Harappan skeletons and present-day populations in those regions (also in Gujarat).^{vi}

The verdict of genetics

In recent years, increasingly refined genetic research has yielded a negative verdict on the Aryan invasion/migration, which fits very well with the anthropological evidence. For instance, **Todd R. Disotell**, a U.S. biologist, concluded in 1999:

The supposed Aryan invasion of India 3,000–4,000 years before present therefore did not make a major splash in the Indian gene pool. This is especially counter-indicated by the presence of equal, though very low, frequencies of the western Eurasian mtDNA types in both southern and northern India. Thus, the ‘caucasoid’ features of south Asians may best be considered ‘pre-caucasoid’ — that is, part of a diverse north or north-east African gene pool that yielded separate origins for western Eurasian and southern Asian populations over 50,000 years ago.^{vii}

In 2004, an international team of biologists rejected the notion that language families in India can be made to fit distinct genetic groups, in effect rejecting the notion that Indo-European speakers in India can be identified with “Aryans”:

Language families present today in India, such as Indo-European, Dravidic and Austro-Asiatic, are all much younger than the majority of indigenous mtDNA lineages found among their present-day speakers at high frequencies. It would make it highly speculative to infer, from the extant mtDNA pools of their speakers, whether one of the listed above linguistically defined group in India should be considered more “autochthonous” than any other in respect of its presence in the subcontinent.^{viii}

In the same line, British biologist **Stephen Oppenheimer**, emphatically rejected in 2003, on the basis of genetic evidence, the notion of an Aryan invasion of India, viewing the Indian populations as having entered the subcontinent at least 50,000 years ago, and as having moved towards Central Asia and Europe only afterwards:

For me and for Toomas Kivisild, South Asia is logically the ultimate origin of M17 [a haplogroup earlier brandished as proof of an Aryan invasion] and his ancestors; and sure enough we find the highest rates and greatest diversity of the M17 line in Pakistan, India, and eastern Iran, and low rates in the Caucasus. M17 is not only more diverse in South Asia than in Central Asia, but diversity characterizes its presence in isolated tribal groups in the south, thus undermining any theory of M17 as a marker of a “male Aryan invasion” of India. One average estimate for the origin of this line in India is as much as 51,000 years. All this suggests that M17 could have found his way initially from India or Pakistan, through Kashmir, then via Central Asia and Russia, before finally coming into Europe.^{ix}

More examples of recent genetic research can be found in a 2005 paper by **Michel Danino**, “Genetics and the Aryan Debate.”^x

Early opponents of Aryan invasion theory

It is often overlooked that AIT-AMT had many early critics, both Western and Indian, from its inception. A few quotations from the former group:

- **Mountstuart Elphinstone**, a British historian and statesman, wrote in his 1841 *History of India*:

“Neither in the Vedas, nor in any book ... is there any allusion to a prior residence ... out of India.... There is no reason whatever for thinking that the Hindus ever inhabited any country but their present one.”^{xi}

- British philologist **Isaac Taylor** rejected the association between race and language and found the theory of a single Aryan migration out of Asia “extremely shadowy ... [resting] on no solid grounds whatever.”^{xii}
- The French archaeologist **Salomon Reinach**, writing in 1892 at the height of the Aryan myth, was perhaps the first to reject the very notion of an Aryan race:

To speak of an Aryan race of three thousand years ago is to put forward a gratuitous hypothesis; but to speak of it as if it still existed today is quite simply absurd.^{xiii}

Conclusion

U.S. anthropologist **Peter G. Johansen** summarized in 2003 the whole problem posed by AIT:

“This [Aryan invasion] theory of Indian civilization is perhaps one of the most perduring and insidious themes in the historiography and archaeology of South Asia, despite accumulating evidence to the contrary.”^{xiv}

A few decades ago, in 1990, the eminent British anthropologist **Edmund Leach**, used much stronger language:

“Even today, 44 years after the death of Hitler ... the Aryan invasions of the second millennium BC are still treated as if they were an established fact of history.... Why do serious scholars persist in believing in the Aryan invasions?... Who finds it attractive? Why has the development of early Sanskrit come to be so dogmatically associated with an Aryan invasion?... The details of this theory fit in with [the] racist framework.... The origin myth of British colonial imperialism helped the elite administrators ... to see themselves as bringing “pure” civilization to a country in which civilization of the most sophisticated (but “morally corrupt”) kind was already nearly 6,000 years old.”^{xv}

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